

Message Text

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12

ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00

NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-07 OES-06 /088 W

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0000

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONGEN HONG KONG

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

USLO PEKING

USFJ YOKOTA AB JAPAN

CINCPAC HONOLULU HAWAII

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 14619

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA, UR, MARR

SUBJ: JAPAN/SOVIET RELATIONS: KOSAKA-GROMYKO MEETING IN NEW YORK

SUMMARY: DURING TOUGH BILATERAL AT UNGA SOVFONMIN GROMYKO SAID GOJ HAD HANDLED MIG-25 AS IF JAPAN-USSR "AT WAR." ACCUSING JAPANESE OF PREYING ON PLANE LIKE "MOUNTAIN DOG" AND OFFERING IT AS PRIZE TO AMERICAN MILITARISTS, GROMYKO THREATENED COMPETITION OF PRESSURE AND DEMANDED IMMEDIATE RETURN OF PLANE.

KOSAKA STOOD HIS GROUND STATING THAT MIG-25 WOULD BE RETURNED IN NEAR FUTURE AT TIME WHICH WOULD BE MADE KNOWN TO GROMYKO THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS. HE REITERATED THAT BELENKO HAD SOUGHT ASYLUM OF FREE WILL AND THAT JAPAN HAD WORKED TO GAIN SOVIET ACCESS TO HIM. JAPANESE MEDIA HAS GIVEN SUBSTANCE AND ATMOSPHERE OF MEETING FULL TREATMENT. FONOFF EXPECTS SOVIETS BOTH TO KEEP PRESSURE ON AND TO TAKE SOME RETALIATORY MEASURE, BUT BELIEVES INCIDENT WILL HAVE NO LASTING EFFECT ON SOVIET-JAPAN RELATIONS. IN MEANTIME, THOUGH MIG-25 ISSUE CONTINUES TO DOMINATE JAPAN-SOVIET RELATION-
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SHIP HERE, SOME ROUTINE BUSINESS IS BEING TRANSACTED BETWEEN THE

TWO GOVERNMENTS. END SUMMARY.

1. BRIEFING EMBOFF FROM TEXT OF TELEGRAM RECEIVED FROM NEW YORK, FIRST EAST EUROPEAN DIVDIR TOGO DESCRIBED KOSAKA-GROMYKO SEPTEMBER 27 AS "VERY TOUGH MEETING." ONE HOUR AND 15 MINUTE ENCOUNTER ATTENDED ON SOVIET SIDE BY AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN AND ON JAPANESE SIDE BY DEPFONMIN ARITA AND PERMREP ABE. KOSAKA BEGAN WITH GENERAL STATEMENT ON SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS. 20 YEARS HAD PASSED, HE SAID, SINCE THE RESTORATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND JAPAN WAS ANXIOUS TO CONCLUDE A PEACE TREATY WITH THE SOVIET UNION WHICH INCLUDED REVERSION OF THE FOUR NORTHERN TERRITORY ISLANDS. THIS SHOULD BE DISCUSSED AT THE UPCOMING FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING AGREED TO LAST JANUARY. KOSAKA ASKED GROMYKO TO PROMOTE VISIT TO JAPAN BY A TOP RANKING SOVIET LEADER.

2. GROMYKO REPLIED THAT THOUGH IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO TALK ABOUT A PEACE TREATY AS HE HAD LAST JANUARY, THERE WAS NO QUESTION WHEATHER OF DISCUSSING THE FOUR ISLANDS, AND NO POINT OF MENTIONING THIS SUBJECT. NOTHING WOULD COME OF SUCH A DISCUSSION. HE HAD AGREED TO CONTINUE DISCUSSION OF A PEACE TREATY IN MOSCOW WITH THE JAPANESE FOREIGN MINISTER BUT KNEW NOTHING OF INCLUDING TALK ABOUT THE FOUR ISLANDS. HE WAS HOWEVER PREPARED TO TALK ABOUT OTHER ASPECTS OF PEACE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS. THE JAPANESE SIDE OFTEN TALKED OF A DESIRE FOR FRIENDLY RELATIONS, GROMYKO CONTINUED, BUT A WIDE GAP EXISTED BETWEEN JAPANESE WORDS AND DEEDS. KOSAKA REMINDED GROMYKO THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD AGREED TO NEGOTIATE A PEACE TREATY, DISCUSSING IN THE PROCESS UNRESOLVED ISSUES OF WHICH THE FOUR ISLANDS WERE ONE. GROMYKO REPEATED FLATLY THAT THERE WAS NO USE TALKING ABOUT THIS SUBJECT.

3. FOR THE RECORD, KOSAKA THEN BROUGHT UP JAPANESE COMPLAINTS ABOUT SOVIET FISHING ACTIVITIES NEAR JAPANESE WATERS, HARRASSMENT OF JAPANESE FISHING VESSELS, AND NEW SOVIET REGULATIONS REGARDING JAPANESE VISITS TO GRAVES ON ISLANDS (SINCE MAY 1976 SOVIETS HAVE DEMANDED THAT JAPANESE VISITORS TO HABOMAI AND SHIKOTAN CARRY PASSPORTS AND BE ISSUED SOVIET VISAS INSTEAD OF GOJ FOREIGN MINISTRY CARDS ROUTINELY CONSIDERED SUFFICIENT BEFORE).

4. TURNING TO MIG-25, KOSAKA DESCRIBED PROBLEM AS TROUBLESOME AND ONE WHICH JAPAN ANXIOUS TO SOLVE WITHOUT DAMAGE TO FRIENDLY JAPAN-CONFIDENTIAL

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SOVIET RELATIONS. HE EXPLAINED THAT MIG HAD BEEN OBSTACLE TO CIVIL AVIATION WHERE IT HAD LANDED IN HAKODATE, AND HAD CONSEQUENTLY BEEN MOVED TO HYAKURI AIR BASE. KOSAKA SAID JAPAN WOULD RETURN THE PLANE IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

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5. GROMYKO RESPONDED WITH "VIOLENT" DENUNCIATION, TOGO REPORTED. SOVFONMIN SAID WORDS OF JAPANESE GOVERNMENT PROMISED FRIENDLY RELATIONS BUT ACTIONS DEMONSTRATED ANIMOSITY TOWARD SOVIET UNION. HAD JAPANESE SIDE WANTED FRIENDLY RELATIONS IT WOULD HAVE GIVEN BACK PLANE AND PILOT IMMEDIATELY. INSTEAD, GOJ "ACTED AS IF BOTH COUNTRIES AT WAR," IN CONTRADICTION TO BASIC RULES OF DECORUM BETWEEN NATIONS DEVELOPED OVER CENTURIES. EVEN DURING VIETNAM WAR WHEN UNITED STATES AIRCRAFT MADE EMERGENCY LANDING IN SOVIET FAR EAST, SOVIETS HAD RETURNED PLANE NEXT DAY. ON ANOTHER OCCASION, WHEN AN AMERICAN AIRCRAFT HAD STRAYED INTO SOVIET TERRITORY IN THE CAUCASUS SIX YEARS AGO, SOVIET GOVERNMENT HAD QUICKLY RETURNED AIRCRAFT. NOT ONLY HAD JAPANESE GOVERNMENT PREYED ON PLANE LIKE "MOUNTAIN DOG," BUT HAD ALSO OFFERED IT AS PRIZE TO AMERICAN MILITARISTS.

6. KOSAKA REPLIED THAT THERE WAS MUCH MISUNDERSTANDING SURROUNDING THE CASE. THE PILOT HAD SOUGHT ASYLUM OF HIS FREE WILL AND THE GOJ HAD ACTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH ITS CUSTOM, RESPECTING THE WISHES OF THE INDIVIDUAL INVOLVED. THE AIRCRAFT HAD LANDED IN A CIVILIAN AIR-
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PORT WITHOUT AUTHORIZATION, AND JAPAN HAD TAKEN ACTION ACCORDINGLY AS A SOVEREIGN NATION. HELP HAD BEEN RECEIVED FROM THE US AS NECESSARY TO MOVE THE AIRCRAFT, NOT AS A JOINT EFFORT BUT UNDER JAPANESE INITIATIVE AND DIRECTION. GOJ CONSIDERED MIG AFFAIR A SMALL INCIDENT, AND WOULD RETURN PLANE SOON, KOSAKA REPEATED.

7. GROMYKO RESPONDED WITH A DIATRIBE OVER THE HANDLING OF DEFECTOR BELENKO, REHEARSING FAMILIAR POINTS OF SOVIET POSITION. PILOT HAD FLOWN OFF COURSE, AND BEEN FORCED UNDER INFLUENCE OF NARCOTICS TO TRAVEL TO UNITED STATES AGAINST HIS WILL. INCIDENT HAD STARTED AS SMALL ONE TO BE SURE, BUT JAPANESE ACTION HAD TURNED IT INTO MAJOR ISSUE WHICH HAD DAMAGED SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS. "AT INSTIGATION OF THIRD PARTY, JAPAN TRIED TO PUT PRESSURE ON SOVIET UNION," GROMYKO CONTINUED. "IF JAPAN WANTS IT, THEN LET US TRY TO SEE WHICH SIDE CAN EXERT THE MOST PRESSURE," JAPAN OR THE USSR. HE THEN ASKED FOR PRECISE DATE, TIME AND MEANS BY WHICH AIRCRAFT WOULD BE RETURNED. KOSAKA REPLIED THAT GROMYKO WOULD BE INFORMED THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS. HE THEN REITERATED JAPANESE POSITION ON HANDLING OF BELENKO,

STRESSING EFFORTS JAPANESE HAD MADE TO ARRANGE SOVIET ACCESS TO DEFECTOR PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE FROM JAPAN.

8. ADDRESSING HIMSELF IN CONCLUSION TO COMPLAINTS KOSAKA HAD LISTED DURING OPENING PRESENTATION, GROMYKO SAID JAPANESE SIDE WOULD HAVE TO RESPECT SOVIET LAWS GOVERNING GRAVE VISITS, AND FISHING IN SOVIET WATERS. OFFENDERS WOULD BE PUNISHED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THOSE LAWS. ALL ACTIONS TAKEN BY SOVIET FISHERMEN IN AREAS OF JAPAN WERE IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW.

9. COMMENT: MEETING HAS RECEIVED HEAVY AND DETAILED TREATMENT IN PRESS, INCLUDING GROMYKO'S THREAT TO ENGAGE IN A COMPETITION OF PRESSURE. MUCH HAS BEEN MADE IN MEDIA HERE OF SEVERE ATMOSPHERE SURROUNDING MEETING, INCLUDING KOSAKA COMMENT, "NOT A CUP OF WATER WAS OFFERED."

10. TOGO INTERPRETED GROMYKO BLUSTER AS SOVIET EFFORT TO EXERT MAXIMUM PRESSURE ON NEGOTIATIONS FOR RETURN OF PLANE. ONCE AIRCRAFT BACK IN SOVIET HANDS SOME RETALIATORY MEASURE SEEMED LIKELY. IN LONG RUN, TOGO CONTINUED TO BELIEVE THAT SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS WOULD BE DETERMINED BY POWER BALANCE CONSIDERATIONS THAT SHAPE BASIC RELATIONSHIP NOW AND INCIDENT WOULD HAVE LITTLE LASING EFFECT.
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1. JAPANESE SOVIETS CONTINUED TO HAVE AT EACH OTHER IN TOKYO ON SUBJECT OF MIG. TOGO CALLED DENISOV IN SEPTEMBER 29 TO HAND HIM WRITTEN REFUTATION OF SOVIET COMPLAINTS DENISOV HAD MADE TWO DAYS BEFORE. BOTH COMPLAINTS AND REFUTATION COVERED FAMILIAR GROUND

AGAIN. AT SAME TIME THERE ARE SOME SIGNS OF BUSINESS AS USUAL BETWEEN THE TWO GOVERNMENTS. A FEW HOURS BEFORE GROMYKO-KOSAKA MEETING, AMBASSADOR POLYANSKY WAS AT FOREIGN MINISTRY HERE SIGNING JOINT AGREEMENT TO WHALING QUOTAS.
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